156 /164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

826 158 /165 cont./ inward, while he is convinced that he will die if this should really happen (1). Koro literally means "to shrink."

1. The signs reported with respect to women are: the breasts become flatter, the nipples shrink, and the labia have a tendency to recede. Only women help the female patient. The phenomenon is less frequent with women than with men.

Van Wulfften Palthe and Slot regarded the phenomena as expressions of an anxiety neurosis (2).

2. See Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1935, Vol. 75, pp. 836 ff. and 811 ff. respectively.

[595] The description of one certain case, as it was reported by an informant, ran as follows. A man of around forty-five years of age, married and with children, had taken a second wife. He had kept this fact a secret from his first wife because he was afraid of her jealousy. After a certain length of time had elapsed, however, his second marriage nevertheless became known. One evening when he had come home tired and sleepy, he was overcome with tremors and broke out in a cold sweat of fear. He had the feeling that his penis was becoming smaller and smaller and that it was suddenly going to turn inward. Upon his shouts for help, neighbors came running in to him. One of them held the penis tightly in order to prevent it from receding, and another man went

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158 /165 cont./ to fetch a sanro (Makassarese physician). After
826 some time had elapsed, and the sanro had performed a number
785 of rituals, the feelings of anxiety disappeared. For this day, the attack was past.

Women are kept away from a male koro patient. It is believed that their presence would cause the dreaded event, the receding /166/ of the penis, to take place, and it is believed
761 that in that event the patient would die. People mention without much trouble a number of instances of individuals who supposedly died of koro.

158 Slot reports that koro occurs among adult Makassarese and
755 Buginese of each social class and both sexes. The phenomenon may appear in groups. It is not the consequence of a modified libido. The Makassarese combat it by using influences regarded as positive, for instance, by using the flowering cluster of the male lontar palm as medicine and through the avoidance of negative influences, among which the turtle is mentioned (1).

1. The thought of the disappearance of this animal's head under its shell gives the patient an unpleasant association according to one informant.

158 Finally, Slot explains that the cause of koro may be a sense of guilt, but that this cause is ethnologically determined because the admissable and the inadmissable are here differently interwoven than in western Europe. He speaks of feelings of guilt while van Wulfften Palthe believes that it is anxiety feelings that lie at the base of the koro phenomenon.

158 Now that the koro phenomenon has been described from
181 the psychological point of view as an expression of anxiety, one may attempt to indicate from the ethnological point of view how this anxiety can have its genesis. To this end I

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Steaming

Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on
[801] the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

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The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in
826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of
828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men
[834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded
585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im-
826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds
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585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress. They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
534 with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burns, the drums are
533 beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

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2. The leaves, it is always stated, are of a reddish color. Red is the color of fire and life. Personally, I have never been able to observe anything but an ordinary green color. The leaves are chewed beforehand.

and a fourth water.

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In everyday life the Datoe of Loewoe' meant nothing to the Toradja. In no case was he considered. The Datoe was brought into play only against strangers. In their contacts with the Government, before it vigorously asserted itself, all overtures were rejected with an appeal to the Datoe. Our attempts to open schools among the Toradja failed in the first years, because the people did not want to know anything about this novelty, from which they expected only disadvantages for their social life. In order to cut off all discussion of this matter they hid behind the Datoe, who certainly would not approve if his subjects obtained schooling while he himself did not yet have any. Whenever the Toradja saw an advantage in some new thing, they did not think of consulting the Datoe about it.

The Datoe of Loewoe' was actually only the keeper of the gaoekang (literally "things, implements, ornaments"), or aradjang ("signs of greatness"), the fetishes in which the strength of the country is preserved, the regalia. As heirlooms of the deified ancestors they make the possessor the direct deputy of these ancestors; this person thus stands on the same level as the ancestors. Then the Toradja also said of the Datoe: "He is our god (lamoa)." That the Datoe left them to their lot and never concerned himself about them they found precisely "god-like" and "ancester-like" of him because in this way he left their adat untouched. And this is the task of every Chief.

The Toradjas were loyal subjects of the Datoe, precisely because of the superstitious respect that they had for him. The Datoe was said to have white blood in his veins. The mysterious power that emanated from his person was considered so great that an ordinary Toradja could not look at him without getting a swollen stomach and dying. The story is told of two Lage chiefs who wished passionately to see the Datoe. They actually succeeded in making their way to him, but the one died already on the return journey and the other three months after he reached home.